

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN.

A CALIFORNIA VIEW.
From the San Francisco Bee.
A PACIFIC REPUBLIC.—The Shasta Herald, of Saturday, in discussing political matters, says:

"If disunion does come, neither North nor South need look for aid and comfort from the Pacific coast. The Almighty has piled up the elements along these shores for a great empire, and if it needs be we can make it one. We have no such interest that would demand an alliance with either of the belligerents upon the other side. We are, and have been for ten years, as fully separated from them as though we were but a foreign colony. This coast can stand alone, and if disunion between North and South ever comes, it will stand alone and independent. When that day comes, if unfortunately it should ever come, then 'Long live the Pacific Republic!'"

How do you know that this coast will choose to declare its independence? What would it gain by it? This is a matter of dollars and cents—a question of profit and loss! We don't expect to have any better Government or any greater liberty out of the Union than in it. What, then, would be the object of a separate Republic? Have we a navy or an army? How could we, in case that any nation chose to depredate upon and cripple our commerce, defend ourselves, or punish the aggressors? Could a people who number less than a million cope for national rights with any respectable Power in the world? How much would it cost in cash to establish ourselves as an eighth or tenth class nation—nothing, at that—and how much per annum would it require to keep up the semblance of nationality? Will the Herald make the figures? or does it blunder into these wild assertions, as some of its contemporaries do, without knowing what it is about—without, in fact, having counted the cost or estimated the profits?

But it is said, in case of a disunion between the North and the South, we would be attached to neither without action of our own to that end. Whence comes such supposition? Is not California a member of the Confederacy now? Did she not in due form ask admission into the Union, and was it not so granted, notwithstanding that these secession States opposed her on this point, and voted against her request and in defiance of her entreaties? And can the separate and independent action of any other State forfeit the allegiance of California to the Union, or deprive her of that membership? Certainly not! The withdrawal of one or two or half a dozen States cannot disrupt the Government so as to deprive any of the remaining States of their rights and privileges in the Union. Hence California must of necessity remain in political connection with the States that do not withdraw, until by her own solemn act she shall declare otherwise.

And an act of this kind will require some time for its consideration. The proposition to withdraw from the Union, if it shall ever be seriously made by parties who from their numbers shall be entitled to a respectful hearing, will be carefully examined, and we doubt not, wisely adjudged. First, a Convention will have to be called by the Legislature; the people will choose delegates thereto, and we doubt not will elect, save perhaps in a few isolated instances, men pledged to let California remain just where she is—in the Union. She will not connect herself with the South or the North any more than now, but will remain a sovereign State of the Confederacy of the United States of America. If the Herald doubts this, let him put the question to the people.

We want a railroad—daily overland mail—and will have both, if we remain just where we are. If every Southern State seceded, that will not delay either of these works one year—say, it will rather hasten them to completion. The South would never build them for us—it has always opposed us in these matters—and if it were favorable, it has not the means; whereas, the North has been for them, and has the capital.

In case of secession, the South will, by her revenue laws, militate against Northern manufactures, and admit British and French and other goods on more favorable terms than American goods. The Northern States are filled with a manufacturing, commercial, rich, energetic people, who will find out new markets for their wares, wherein they can compete with Europeans. They will turn their eyes to Asia, and carve for themselves a new market among her hundreds of millions of inhabitants. The direct road to Asia is across the plains by steam to San Francisco, and thence by steam across the Pacific. They will construct the road—the whole energies of the Government would be devoted to that end—there would no longer be opposition thereto from Southern Senators and members of Congress in the National Councils—the Government, from the President down, would be a unit on this great measure, and in San Francisco would soon be laid the foundation of the seat of the centre or heart of the world's commerce. As the first Napoleon considered Constantinople the natural seat of political empire, so is San Francisco looked upon as the natural seat, in the not distant future, of the empire of commerce. A continental railroad will make her such.

We, then, are a railroad people, and cannot be driven by a few abstractionists to separate ourselves from the only power in the world that is likely to or can give us a railroad; nor will we connect ourselves with any other. It may be well enough to talk about a Pacific Republic, but the party that would advocate it as a leading measure would be ground into powder beneath the heel of public disapprobation. Let those who will, submit it to the decision of the people, and, if they do not be repudiated with an energy more even than that which drove Senator Gwin from the State, and assigned him to political oblivion, then have we sadly mistaken the temper of this people.

VIRGINIA.—A Union meeting at Parkersburg, January 1, adopted a declaration of principles, of which the following are samples:

"We believe it to be the sworn duty of the President to uphold the laws by all the power of the Government, and in so doing he is entitled to the sympathy and support of every good citizen, and we believe the Constitution and laws of the United States are as binding on South Carolina now as they were before her pretended acts of secession.

"That we will be bound by the acts of no Convention, no matter how called or organized, the purpose of which is to alter in any manner to change the relation Virginia bears to the Government of the Union, unless the proposed alteration or change is first submitted to the votes of the people, and sanctioned by them after full discussion and ample time for consideration."

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nov 28

Prospectus of the National Republican.

Believing that the time has arrived when the great Republican party of the United States ought to be fairly represented in the daily press of the National Metropolis, we have embarked in the enterprise of supplying the citizens of the District of Columbia with a daily publication, under the title of the "NATIONAL REPUBLICAN."

In its political department, this journal will advocate and defend the principles of the Republican party, and endeavor to disabuse the public mind of groundless prejudices which have been engendered against it, by the false accusations of its enemies. Having the utmost confidence that the administration of Mr. Lincoln will be such as to merit our approbation, we expect to yield it a cordial, but not a servile support. In the great issue that is likely to be made with the administration, by the enemies of the Republican party, the people of Washington and the District of Columbia have more at stake than the people of any other portion of our common country. We believe that to support Mr. Lincoln's administration is synonymous with maintaining the integrity of the Federal Union, against the machinations of those who would rend it asunder. No one can doubt upon which side of this issue the people of Washington will be found, when they come to realize that it is fairly forced upon them. We feel confident, therefore, that in yielding to the administration of Mr. Lincoln a cordial support, we shall have the sympathy of an immense majority of the people of this District and vicinity.

It is not our design, however, to make the National Republican a mere political paper. We intend, that as a medium of general and local news, shall not be inferior to any other journal published in this city. We shall pay particular attention to questions of local policy, and advocate such reforms as we may deem essential to the prosperity of the city, and to the advancement of the moral and material welfare of its inhabitants.

We deem it unnecessary, however, to multiply promises, as the paper will immediately make its appearance, and will then speak for itself. It will be published every morning, and delivered to city subscribers at six cents per week. Mail subscribers, \$3.50 a year, payable in advance.

The publication office is at the corner of Indiana avenue and Second street.
LEWIS CLEPHANE & CO.

Some Opinions of Mr. Lincoln.

SELECTED VERBATIM FROM HIS SPEECHES, AND PERTINENT TO THE PRESENT OCCASION.

"I say that we must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it, and the general welfare does not require us to do so. We must not withhold an efficient fugitive slave law, because the Constitution requires us, as I understand it, not to withhold such a law. But we must prevent the out-spreading of the institution, because neither the Constitution nor the general welfare requires us to extend it. We must prevent the revival of the African slave trade, and the enacting by Congress of a Territorial slave code. We must prevent each of these things being done by either Congress or courts. The people of the United States are the rightful masters of both Congresses and courts—not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution."—Speech at Cincinnati, September 18, 1859.

"I hold myself under constitutional obligations to hold the people in all the States, without interference, direct or indirect, to do exactly as they please; and I deny that I have any inclination to interfere with them, even if there were no such constitutional obligation. I can only say again, that I am placed improperly—altogether improperly, in spite of all that I can say—when it is insisted that I undertake any other views or purposes in regard to that matter (slavery)."—Speech at Jonesborough, Ill., Sept. 16, 1858.

"While (slavery) drives on in its state of progress as it is now driving, and as it has driven for the last five years, I have ventured the opinion, and say to-day, that we will have no end to the slavery agitation until it takes one turn or the other. I do not mean that when it takes a turn toward ultimate extinction it will be in a day, nor in a year, nor in two years. I do not suppose that in the most peaceful way ultimate extinction would occur in less than a hundred years at least; but that it will occur in the best way for both races, in God's own good time. I have no doubt."—Speech at Charleston, Ill., Sept. 18, 1858.

"Mr. Douglas's popular sovereignty, as a principle, is simply this: If one man chooses to make a slave of another, neither that man nor anybody else has a right to object."—Speech at Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859.

"I have intimated that I thought the agitation (of slavery) would not cease until a crisis should be reached and passed. I have stated in what way I have thought it would be reached and passed. We might, by arresting the further spread of it, and placing it where the fathers originally placed it, put it where the public mind should rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction. Thus the agitation may cease. It may be pushed forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South. I entertain the opinion, upon evidence sufficient to my mind, that the fathers of this Government placed that institution where the public mind did rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction; and when I desire to see the further spread of it arrested, I only say that I desire to see that done which the fathers have first done. It is not true that our fathers, as Judge Douglas assumes, made this Government part slave and part free. Understand the sense in which he puts it—he assumes that slavery is a rightful thing within itself—was introduced by the framers of the Constitution. The exact truth is, that they found the institution existing among us, and they left it as they found it. But in making the Government, they left this institution with many clear marks of disapprobation upon it. They found slavery among them, and they left it among them because of the difficulty—the absolute impossibility of its immediate removal."—Speech at Altoon, Oct. 18, 1858.

"Let me say I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not exist among them they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses, North and South. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were now out of existence. We know that some Southern men do free their slaves, go North, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some Northern ones go South, and become most cruel slave masters.

"When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. Let earthly power be given me, I should not know what to do, as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would

convince me, that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this, in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would perish in the next ten days; and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough in the world to carry them there in many ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery at any rate; yet the point is not clear enough to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, it is, indeed, it is in part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted; but for that tardiness in this respect, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South.

"When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them any legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not, in its stringency, be more likely to carry a free man into slavery than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent one."—Speech at Altoon, Ill., Aug. 21, 1858.

"Has anything ever threatened the existence of this Union, save and except this very institution of slavery? What is it that we hold most dear amongst us? Our own liberty and prosperity. What has ever threatened our liberty and prosperity, save and except this institution of slavery? If this is true, how do you propose to improve the condition of things by enlarging slavery—by spreading it out, and making it bigger?"

"You may have a wen or cancer on your person, and not be able to cut it out, lest you bleed to death; but surely it is no way to cure it to engraft it, and spread it over your whole body. That is no proper way of treating what you regard as a wrong."—Speech at Altoon, Oct. 15, 1858.

"I suppose most of us (I know it of myself) believe that the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional fugitive slave law. As the right is constitutional, I agree that the legislation shall be granted to it, and that not that we like the institution of slavery. We profess to have no taste for running and catching negroes; at least, I profess no taste for that job at all. Why, then, do I yield support to a fugitive slave law? Because I do not understand that the Constitution, which guarantees that right, can be supported without it."—Speech at Altoon, Oct. 15, 1858.

"The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery as a wrong, and of another class that does not look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong, is the sentiment of the Republican party. They look upon it as being a moral, social, and political wrong; and while they contemplate it as such, they nevertheless have due regard for its actual existence among us, and the difficulties of getting rid of it in any satisfactory way, and to all the constitutional obligations thrown about it. Yet having a due regard for these, they desire a policy in regard to it that looks to its not creating any more danger. They insist that it should, as far as may be, be treated as a wrong; and one of the methods of treating it as a wrong is to make provision that it shall grow no larger. If there be a man among us who does not think that the institution of slavery is wrong in any of the aspects of which I have spoken, he is misplaced, and ought not to be with us. And if there be a man amongst us who is so impatient of it as a wrong as to disregard its actual presence among us, and the difficulty of getting rid of it suddenly in a satisfactory way, and to disregard the constitutional obligations thrown about it, that man is misplaced if he is on our platform."—Speech at Altoon, Oct. 15, 1858.

A FEW WORDS TO THE SOUTH.

"We the Republicans, and others, forming the opposition of the country, intend to 'stand by our guns,' to be patient and firm, and in the long run to beat you. When we do beat you, the people want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you as far as I am authorized to speak for the opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you, as nearly as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way interfere with your institution; to abide by every compromise of the Constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you as far as degenerated men (if we have degenerated) may, according to the examples of those noble fathers—Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we are; that there is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind, always, that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and to treat you accordingly."—Speech at Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859.

DOUGLAS AND JOHNSON PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the Democracy of the Union, in Convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmative of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, in the year 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature, when applied to the same subject matter; and we recommend as the only further resolutions the following:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

Resolved, That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial, and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional government aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific coast at the earliest practicable period.

Resolved, That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves and just to Spain.

Resolved, That the enactment of State Legislatures to defeat the faithful execution of the fugitive slave law are hostile in character, subversive of the Constitution, and revolutionary in their effect.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

First. That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Second. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved.

Third. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people sternly to rebuke and forever silence.

Fourth. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Fifth. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subservience to the exactions of a sectional interest, as especially evidenced in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in constraining the personal relations between master and servant to involve an unequal property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and of the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public Treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of Administration is imperatively demanded.

Seventh. That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Eighth. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of Freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attacks to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, and a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Tenth. That in the recent votes by their Federal Governors of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-interference and popular sovereignty embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Eleventh. That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Twelfth. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges, which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Thirteenth. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

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